

PASTORALISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN ETHIOPIA*

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I. Introduction

It has been a pleasure and a profound privilege to me to be invited to present a paper at the prestigious Ethiopian Economic Association gathering. Let me take this opportunity to extend my utmost thanks to Dr. Assefa Admassie who contacted my colleague Getachew Gebru to think of presenting a paper on "Pastoralism and Development in Ethiopia: Vision 2020". It was Getachew who later encouraged me to give it a shot and prepare the paper despite my hesitation to do so as I thought it may difficult to talk about the future under a dynamic world which is changing at an alarming rate and at times in unexpected direction ending in unexpected outcomes. I would like to thank Dr. Getachew for giving me the courage to take the initiative and prepare the paper. He made an invaluable input in the content and quality of the paper.

Going back to the main agenda of today's gathering, I start by talking about what pastoralism is and its extent and contribution to the national economy and will give you an overview on past and ongoing pastoral development efforts and policies that affected their outcomes before going into where the pastoralist in Ethiopia stand now and where they may find themselves in 2020 which is the core agenda of my talk.

II. Pastoralism and its Economic Significance

Pastoralism occupies a quarter of the world land area which is predominantly arid and semi-arid and supports tens of millions of pastoral households in which 60% are found in Africa. Pastoralism is an economic activity and land use system with its own distinct characteristics and it is a way of life for people who derive most of their income or sustenance from keeping domestic livestock reared in conditions where most of the feed is natural rather than cultivated or closely managed (Sandford 1983). In pastoral systems livestock production is the mainstay of people's livelihood.

Pastoralism makes a very significant contribution to the national income, employment, agricultural production, and food demand of people in the world. They produce 10% of the global meat used for human consumption (Roger Blench, 2001). Pastoral areas in Ethiopia cover two thirds of the land mass of the country and support 12-15% (or 10-12 million people) of the country's human population and a large number of livestock. These areas which are commonly called as rangelands are located in the arid and semi-arid lowland areas in the

East, North-east, West, and South of the country. Ethiopian pastoralists represent many different ethnic groups. The most important ones in terms of number of people, livestock and size of area occupied are the Somali in the east and southeast, Afar in the northeast, the Borana in the south. In addition, there are smaller groups such as the Hamar and Gelebe, Arbore, and Dassenetch, etc. who live in the extreme southwest of the country. Pastoralists are also found in areas of Tigray, Benishangul and Gambella. The Somali pastoralists constitute 53% of the pastoral population followed by the Afar 29%, the Borana 10% and the remaining 8% are found in Gambella, Benishangul and Tigray regions. Of the total livestock in the country it is estimated that the pastoral sector raises 40% of the cattle, 75% of the goats, 25% of the sheep, 20% of the equines, and 100% of the camels (Coppock 1994).

Pastoral groups in Ethiopia subsist off their animals both directly through drinking milk and eating meat, and indirectly by exchanging livestock or their products for grains and other goods and services. The lowland breeds of cattle and sheep and goats which are originating from the pastoral areas have typically made up >90% of the annual legal

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exports of live and processed animals. In addition, about hundreds of million dollars worth of pastoral livestock is traded on the cross border international market each year and official statistics never reflected this volume (Coppock 1994). Moreover cattle from the pastoral areas provide around 20% of the draft animals for the Ethiopian highlands (Coppock 1994).

Pastoral areas in Ethiopia are characterized by frequent drought with high livestock mortality which often results in threatening viability of pastoral livelihood, famine and deaths in human population. For example, the 1973/74 drought that affected the pastoral areas in general and the Afar pastoralist in particular decimated 72% of the cattle herd, 45% of sheep, 34% of goats and 37% of camels. In both the 1983-5 and 1990-2 droughts the Borana pastoralists in southern Ethiopia lost 50 to 60% of their livestock inventory (Desta et al. 2002, Coppock 1994). The 1984-85 Borana drought wiped out 90% the calves (Cossins and Upton, 1988). The recent 2005/6 drought that hit Afar, Borana and Somali has claimed a huge loss in livestock wealth. Among all other factors such as human and livestock disease outbreaks, conflict and insecurity, which are very prevalent in pastoral areas drought, compounded with other internal factors such as growth in human population and loss of grazing lands to non pastoral investments, remained to be the most devastating and least manageable problem that threatens the stability and viability of pastoralism and pastoral livelihoods in Ethiopia. The pastoral areas in Ethiopia are regarded as drought vulnerable with chronic food deficiencies.

Pastoralists are the most marginalized group of people in Ethiopia. Even by the standard of Ethiopia, pastoral areas have the lowest access for basic public services such as education and human health services. Infrastructures such as roads, telephone, markets, etc are poorly developed. Poverty and food insecurity is wide spread. They have a very low representation in the national political processes. It is crucial for the good of the country to have pastoralism in the national development agenda to bring in livelihood improvement to these people who eke livings out of the arid and semi-arid environment in which case the natural ecological settings of such areas favors pastoralism. It is unthinkable to have a sustainable and comprehensive development in Ethiopia without having pastoralists and pastoral areas which constitute a substantial number of the human population and cover a larger portion of the countries land mass on board.

III. Overview of Pastoral Development in Ethiopia

To give a lucid view on pastoralism and development in Ethiopia in the next several decades, it is very important to review the success and failures of the recent past and ongoing pastoral development efforts and associated policies. The future development of pastoralism in Ethiopia is partly a function of its accumulated strength from the past and the present and partly on current and future policies that define the components and direction of the development path to follow on to bring change in the system. Hence, where the pastoralists start from and the development path followed on

matters where they would find themselves in the next 15-20 years time. External factors such as government policies, governance, security and natural disasters would also have their own contributions to impact outcomes of the development dynamics.

Most if not all past and present major pastoral development investments in Ethiopia were initiated and funded by either multilateral organizations such as the World Bank or bilateral organizations such as the USAID. In most case the funding share of these organizations happened to be 80% or above which gave the lenders and/or a strong say in the design of these projects and their implementation approaches. They also had influence in deciding the direction on which the projects should move and the kind of goods and services they ought to produce.

In spite of the economic significance of pastoralism in Ethiopia, very little development consideration was given to pastoral areas and pastoralist until the mid-1960s. In late 50th and early 60th the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), in collaboration with the imperial government financed development of water resources and livestock market centers in the Borana area (Zere 1987). However, it was after the formation of the Livestock and Meat Board (LMB) in 1964 that the government of Ethiopia began large scale efforts to develop the pastoral areas.

Livestock and Meat Board

The LMB was created to enhance the development strategy of the Imperial government of Ethiopia to commercialize the livestock sector. The Board has played a major part in the history of pastoral

development in Ethiopia. The studies, development projects and implementation approaches crafted and initiated by the LMB in the 60th and 70th have influenced much of the pastoral development efforts and outcomes up until late years of the 80th. The development model used by the LMB was livestock and natural resource focused in its objectives and technology driven in its development approaches. It was the LMB that crafted and facilitated implementation of the first USAID-funded pastoral area development project called the Arero Range Pilot Project (ARPP) in Borana. The Second Livestock Development Project (SLDP) which was a market oriented project was also initiated by the LMB. The LMB has also funded studies of several pastoral areas in which some of the reports from the studies were used to develop a pastoral development proposal for funding consideration by international financiers. The Third Livestock Development Project (TLDP) which lasted until late 80th was a product of these studies. Most of the senior professionals who were involved in the development of the pastoral areas over the last 2-3 decades were trained by either the LMB or its projects and molded in such a way to enhance the LMB development model.

The Southern rangelands development pilot project which was implemented in Borana and the Southeast Rangelands Development Project which was implemented among the Somalis in region 5 in the late 80th and early 90th respectively and the ongoing World Bank funded Pastoral Community Development Project (PCDP) which is being implemented under the coordination of the Ministry of Federal Affairs have made a major departure in their objective settings, design and

implementation approaches from the LMB. Attempts have been made to involve the pastoral beneficiaries and their institutions in the design and implementation of these projects. See below brief description of the development projects.

Arero Range Pilot Project

The ARPP was initiated and implemented during the Imperial regime at a time when unsettled or uncultivated land in Ethiopia was conceived by the state authorities as no-man land and claimed as state property. The ARPP lasted from 1965-75 (Zere 1987). It was supposed to be implemented near the towns of Yabello among Borana communities and Abernossa among the Arsi people. Although the project was meant to improve the standard of living of the pastoral community and increase animal off take for commercial markets, it was received with lots of suspicion by the pastoralists. Pastoralists were afraid of losing their land to the government as the law allows. The project created paddocks and watering facilities in a 2000 km² area near Yabello to improve livestock productivity through controlled rotational grazing which was not compatible, however, with the traditional common property rights of the Borana and it was impossible to enforce it (Zere 1987). However, in some cases, the project attracted settlement around the newly constructed huge water points, and this resulted in severe overgrazing that turned what was once open savanna grassland into woodland (Coppock 1994, Desta 1996). The Abernossa sub-project was not implemented at all as disagreements between the subproject leaders and local producers forced project withdrawal.

Second Livestock Development Project

The Second Livestock Development Project (SLDP) was initiated in 1973 and run until 1981. The project began implementation during the imperial time but went into full fledged implementation during the *Dergue* period. This project was aimed at developing an integrated market and stock route system in the country was expected to improve livestock off take by opening up better market opportunities for producers (Zere 1987). Stock route facilities and market places were constructed, but unfortunately most were destroyed in the Ethio-Somali war of 1977-8 (Coppock 1994, Desta 1996) and subsequent instability in the eastern and southern rangelands constrained project implementation. When the project ended in 1981 only a few markets were operational. Stock routes were never utilized. The major defect of the project was its failure to consult pastoralists and traders and its focus on livestock commercialization than on pastoralists' livelihoods. SLDP was funded by the World Bank.

Third Livestock Development Project

Third Livestock Development Project (TLDP) or some call it Rangeland Development Project (RDP) was crafted based on experiences gained from the previous projects and various socio-economic studies carried out in major pastoral areas of Ethiopia. The TLDP (1975-84) was the first large-scale, pastoral development intervention envisioned as a step in the long-term development of the Ethiopian pastoral areas. This project was studied during the imperial times but, implemented

during the *Dergue* regime and its implementation efficiency and commercialization objective of the livestock industry had been compromised by the Marxist policy of the *Dergue* regime.

The objective of the project was to develop and rehabilitate 3 vast areas through 3 subprojects: the Southern Rangelands Development Unit (SORDU) in the Borana and Guji zone to the south and Liben zone of region 5, the Northeast Rangelands Development Unit (NERDU) in the Afar region and bordering woredas of Tigray to the northeast, and the Jijiga Rangeland Development Unit (JIRDU) in the Somali region to the east and southeast. The aim was to develop an area of 203,000 km² using the three sub-projects. .

TLDP was a comprehensive venture aimed at increasing livestock productivity, increasing off take, and raising the standard of living of pastoral people by restructuring the traditional system of extensive livestock production. This was to be achieved through the provision of veterinary and livestock extension services, water and infrastructure development, training of the rural population, capacity building of governmental institutions responsible for the livestock sector, and conducting appropriate research (RDP 1975). There were other components including a water-spreading program, ranch development program, a stocker/feeder program and marketing programs that were intended to mitigate stress on pastoral systems that occur from drought situations (Zere 1987, World Bank 1991). The intent of the ranch scheme and the stocker feeder programs was to remove stock from the rangeland before they were decimated by drought. The

stocker/feeder program was aimed to facilitate off take to prevent build-up of herds and subsequent die-off of animals. In general, the long-term objective of TLDP was to establish a comprehensive system of range use under which herders could adjust their overall stock numbers in relation to carrying capacity so that production and productivity of the rangeland and the livestock could increase.

The implementation of TLDP was caught up in civil conflicts and a war with Somalia. Other factors that constrained project execution included change in the economy policy of Ethiopia from a capitalistic type to a communistic type command economy (World Bank 1991). Lack of knowledge of pastoral behavior and attempts made by the project to change traditional practices was a major problem of TLDP. The TLDP was ultimately unsuccessful in achieving its restructuring and improvement goals. Land use planning and proposals for improved range management were not applied. But there was, however, considerable improvement in delivery of veterinary services and provision of infrastructure (i.e., water development, roads, etc.; World Bank 1991). TLDP was funded by the World Bank and African Development Bank.

Overall the three projects discussed above were over-ambitious and biased towards stimulating production at the expense of the socio-cultural systems (World Bank 1991, Desta 1996). Similar to other World Bank rangeland projects launched in Africa in the 1970s and 1980s, the impact of these projects on human livelihood was minimal because of top-down approach, lack of understanding of the functioning

of semi-arid and arid pastoral systems, and an underestimation of the power of traditional institutions and utility of indigenous knowledge. The focuses of these projects were on the livestock or the natural resource base rather than improving the livelihood of the people they support. The projects were overtaken and driven by the western ranching model to produce cheap meats which were meant to supply urban consumers and the export markets.

Southern Rangelands Pilot Project

In 1988 the fourth World Bank funded livestock development project (FLDP) implemented with a focus on the highland livestock resources. Southern Rangelands Pilot Project was a component of FLDP implemented in the south among the Borana communities (FLDP 1987). It was planned to be implemented in 5-year period. Similar to the previous projects the main objective of the pilot project was to improve food security of the pastoralists. However, this project was different in its approach and philosophy of pastoral development from the previous three projects. The 3 guiding key elements of the pilot project were sustainability, participation, and cost-sharing by beneficiaries. Utilization of traditional organizations and indigenous knowledge were considered as key factors to promote development in pastoral areas. The Pilot Project was aimed at introducing changes in the conventional development strategy in pastoral areas. The project was an experiment to test the feasibility and sustainability of using cooperative-based, participatory approaches for pastoral development. If successful, the intention was to use the pilot project to justify a larger scale

project in the southern rangelands that embodied these new perspectives. Implementation of the pilot project was severely hampered and aborted because of the insecurity prevailed in the area during the political transition following the fall of *Dergue*. The project however brought some attitudinal changes among development practitioners involved in its implementation. The principal beneficiary of many of the ideas from the Pilot Project was the Southeast Rangelands Project (SERP).

Southeast Rangelands Development Project

The SERP started in 1990 with funding from the African Development Bank (ADB), and it covered a vast area of 245,000 km² occupied by the Somali. The development objective of the SERP was to raise the living standards of the pastoral populations by improving productivity of livestock and ensuring sustainability of natural resources (SERP 1989). Furthermore, and similar to the SORDU Pilot Project, it was anticipated that the formation of pastoralist associations or cooperatives would facilitate provision of social services and increase capability of communities to sustain themselves, particularly during drought. The SERP had learned much from previous projects and was trying to avoid past mistakes. The project was phased out after two extensions. The timely implementation of SERP has been also affected by insecurity and the time taken to set up the new administrative structure following to the down fall of *Dergue* which have taken quite long time. SERP has recorded some success in infrastructure development and animal health deliveries. The project

has also registered some success in initiating participatory, bottom up approach in pastoral development. It was a learning process for the project at large to use a people centered approach to implement the projects infrastructure, animal health and forage development programs. Credible attempts were made to involve all relevant stakeholders in project design and implementation. The overall impact of SERP is something yet to be evaluated.

Pastoral Community Development Project

The Pastoral Community Development Project (PCDP) is funded by the World Bank and IFAD for a five year period beginning 2003 that is expected to be the first of three phases of a 15 year project. The project is aimed at improving the livelihoods of pastoraslists in Afar, Somali, Oromia and SNNP regions. The project is designed in such a way to empower pastoralists as well as district and regional governments to better manage developments in pastoral areas. The PCDP implementation approach is designed to be participatory, community driven and livelihood focused which is different from the hierarchical, top down, approach that has been used by the Ethiopian government for decades. The project is expected to help the government develop appropriate policy and institutional environments that will be able to effectively promote pro pastoral development. PCDP will also work to strengthen policies on important matters including pastoralists land use rights, settlement, livestock trade and marketing and public service delivery (PCDP Project document). The Ministry of Federal Affairs coordinates implementation of

PCDP. There are regional coordination offices at each region which provide technical back stopping, financial, procurement, and other coordination support to the woredas where resources and project implementations are managed.

PCDP is yet to be seen if it could be implemented as it has been designed and deliver what is expected as indicated in the project document. Otherwise PCDP has all the necessary ingredients in its design to form an ideal project. It is made a major shift in its objective; project design from the previous known livestock centered top-down development approach to a people, livelihood centered and bottom up participatory approach. It is long term and flexible in resource use.

Other Recent Governmental Pastoral Research Development Initiatives

Pastoral development has never been part of the national development plan in Ethiopia until recently. There was no a permanent government body with a mandate to plan and implement developments to improve the livelihood of pastoralists. Recent effort to have a pastoral development department in the ministry of federal affairs, the pastoral extension unit in the federal ministry of Agriculture, pastoral development office in the regions such as in Oromia, Somali, Afar and SNNP where pastoralism is an essential production system, is a positive move in the right direction. These offices are now actively engaged in planning and implementing pastoral development activities regularly.

There is also a growing interest among research and academic institutions to incorporate

pastoralism in their research and teaching programs. Alemaya University has plans to establish Institute of Pastoral Studies; EARO has a dry land and pastoral research directorate, construction of a huge World Bank funded research centers with a focus on pastoral research and development have been undertaken in Oromia, Afar, Somali, and other pastoral regions. Gewane vocational center has been established to produce development facilitators who can work in pastoral areas. Although not yet so much effective there is a Pastoral Education Task Force in the federal ministry of education responsible to develop and implement pastoralists' friendly education model. These are all positive measures that would facilitate developments in pastoral areas.

Non Governmental Organization and Pastoral Development

Several international and local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been operating in the pastoral areas for several decades. Most if not all NGOs initially came to the pastoral areas to provide emergency relief assistance in response to drought. These organizations have been successful in saving lives during the droughts that occurred in the 1980th, 1990th and in the recent droughts. Over time, however, they tried to integrate development activities with relief. The NGOs have been increasingly focused on small-scale projects of provision of water facilities, veterinary drugs etc. However, since their primary focus was on emergency relief their general impact on the livelihood of pastoralists has not been so significant.

Government Policies and Pastoral Development

Pastoralists in Ethiopia have traditional institutions and organizations on which the pastoral mode of production and way of livelihood has sustained itself for centuries. These social, economic, territorial, and political institutions have facilitated ownership and management of resources, resolution of conflicts, sharing and redistribution of wealth, and provision of governances. The Herra of Somali, the Gadda of Borana and Guji and the Medaa and Adaa of Afar were pastoral institutions on which the social, economic and political lives of these communities built upon over centuries. However, endogenous factors such as increase in human population and loss of grazing lands and growing competition for dwindling scarce resources, and exogenous factors such as expansion of the state and "modernization" that encroached the traditional institutions, inappropriate government policies that undermine the pastoral production systems have challenged and compromised the existence and effectiveness of these traditional institutions and have weakened their authorities overtime. Policies of the Ethiopian governments have been antagonistic to pastoralism, pastoralists and their traditional institutions. In some cases the aggressive move by governments to replace the traditional institutions and organizations ended up in the loss of indigenous knowledge appropriate to manage the fragile arid and semi-arid eco-system. Policies related to pastoralism and pastoral development during the last two regimes and the current one are briefly described below.

Imperial and Dergue Periods and Pastoral Development Policies

During the imperial time unsettled land in Ethiopia was conceived as no-man land. Most of the state farms and the national parks which we see today were established in pastoral lands by forcefully evacuating the pastoral communities of Afar, Kereyu, Hammer, Geleb, etc. It was part of the policy of the imperial government to take away the so called no-man land from the pastoralists holdings to reassign to individuals called "developers" to cultivate cash crops. The effect of such forced evacuation and use of the pastoral lands for non pastoral investments has devastated pastoral livelihoods. All of this was done under a guise of developing pastoral areas and pastoralists from a backward nomadic life style to seemingly superior lifestyle of sedentary cultivators. The measure was devoid of human face. The development policy was solely focusing on the natural resources and the livestock not on improving the pastoral livelihood. Those pastoral development projects which were initiated during the imperial time (see above) have clearly reflected the regime's policy by focusing on livestock and natural resources rather than the pastoralists who depend on these resources to support their livelihood.

The imperial and the *Dergue* regime have communality in excluding the human element in the pastoral development equation and their focus on livestock production and productivity. In some cases *Dergue* was worst. The 1975 proclamation which led to the nationalization of rural lands limited pastoralists to usufruct rights and gave the socialist state the authority to further encroach upon pastoralists' lands

and water resources for investments not related to pastoral livelihoods or wellbeing. New large scale farms established and some of the old ones expanded at the expense of the pastoral herders. Best rangelands were demarked and enclosed for national parks, state forests, state controlled ranches, outlawing the pastoralists from using them for grazing. Large resettlement schemes were carried out at the expense of nomadic pastoralists. The socialist state went further to control pastoralists' involvement in the market by institutionalizing a quota system in which each pastoral associations has to supply a given number of animals at a given period at state fixed prices to the state run livestock enterprises to feed the urban consumers and for export to earn hard currency. TLDP was used to a certain extent to enhance the government policy of ranching, settlements, quotas to supply the markets fully controlled by the state, etc.

All the pastoral development projects during the imperial and *Dergue* regime were implemented in a policy environment of taking livestock development synonyms with pastoral development. The projects reflected to a certain extent the regimes perception of pastoralism as backward production system that needs to be modernized and restructured. However these projects attempts to restructure the traditional pastoral production system have failed completely.

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) considered areas under pastoral production system as areas of special problems which need special measures appropriate to

local conditions. Thus it formed a department in the ministry of federal affairs which coordinates and facilitates development in pastoral areas and set up Pastoralist Affairs Standing Committee in the parliament which oversees pastoral development activities in the country. Regional offices in charge of pastoral development have been established in regions where pastoralism is an important production system. Different from the previous two regimes the current government has attempted to incorporate pastoral development in its national development plans (2000-2004 and 2005-2009 five year plans).

Despite its lack of clarity the government set a national policy and strategies to direct development efforts in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia. It has made a stride in considering the need to develop the pastoral area and to give some development direction that triggers improvement of the livelihood of pastoralists. It also has made certain shift in the thinking of pastoral development from its predecessors. It looks like it has made a departure from its predecessors in a sense that it is focusing more on the poor livestock holders (i.e., pastoralists) and poverty reduction than the livestock themselves. However there is still a need to do more by the government to bring pastoralists themselves to participate in the policy making process that affect their livelihoods.

The 1994 Ethiopian Constitution provided for pastoralists the right to free land grazing and not to be displaced from their own lands without their wish. The constitution also provides pastoralists to receive fair prices for their products that would lead to improvement in their

conditions of life. These are some of the articles in the constitution which specifically reflect position of the government regarding pastoralist interest. In its short-medium development policy the government admits the importance of investing in pastoralism to improve the food security situation of pastoralists. It also acknowledges the usefulness of the traditional pastoral knowledge to manage pastoral resources. However in its long term policy it advocates for sedenterization of pastoralists based on development of irrigation which became so much controversial and contradicts the constitution in a certain way. There is a need for more and open dialogue among the policy makers, development facilitators, researchers, pastoral advocacy groups and the pastoral community to bring to the surface implications and appropriateness of the government long term policy of pastoral sedenterization. The government has to move and admit unambiguously that pastoralism as a viable way of life for the environment it is being practiced as crop cultivation is in the high moisture area.

IV. Where does Pastoralism in Ethiopia stand now?

It is close to half a century since large scale development efforts were initiated in the pastoral areas of Ethiopia. However, there is one big question remained to be answered, i.e., have these development efforts registered any sustainable positive impact on the pastoral people? Nowadays, even organizations that have been operating in pastoral areas have begun to question the impact of their development interventions. More studies are revealing that pastoral systems in Ethiopia which have been functioning well for

centuries and which have provided livelihood to people are becoming unstable and less reliable to sustain pastoral livelihoods. The pastoral areas are currently being characterized by increasing instability, food insecurity, decreasing income, increasing poverty, a decline in adherence to social mores and environmental degradation. For example Desta et al., 2002 found out that among the Borana pastoralist major production indicators signaled a decline in pastoral welfare. Most alarming of all is the decline in the ratio of livestock to people. The human population is increasing while the livestock population fluctuates as it is periodically affected by drought and feed shortages. There is also a trend of wealth-class polarization in which wealth is being concentrated in the hands of few rich households (but not as rich as they used to be) while the number of poor households is growing (and they are poorer than they used to be). Traditional wealth redistribution mechanisms and sense of cooperation and mutual assistance among Borana pastoralists is deteriorating. There is a real threat of ending the era of elder-based traditional socio-politico-economic order in Borana. Situations are very similar in other pastoral areas of the country (Desta et al, 2004). However, it is not to say that investments made in pastoral development in the past have been totally wasted. Government projects and NGOs have been successful in providing physical infrastructures and controlling contagious animal diseases. They have also made a noticeable contribution in raising the awareness of pastoralists and building their capacity to manage their own development affairs. However, the contribution made by all organizations both governmental

and non-governmental so far to alleviate poverty and increase food security is unclear.

One thing is, however, encouraging at the moment. The national and international policy environment, the capacity of the pastoralists themselves to manage their development needs, increasing involvement of government institutions and NGOs to push development in pastoral areas are so favorable to enhance a take off in pastoral development in Ethiopia. The evolution the development practitioners both governmental and non governmental made over time in terms of their thinking and approach in promoting developments in pastoral areas from top down livestock focused to bottom up participatory and livelihood focused has been an encouraging positive trend that could contribute a lot towards achieving a sustainable development in pastoral areas.

V. Pastoralism and Development in 2020 in Ethiopia

It is not so easy to give insights about the future state of a production system and the people who depend on it. I did not want to play with the “if” to consider different scenarios to tell about the future. I opt to look into the development processes pastoralists were subjected to for several decades and become what they are now, and the available forces such as government policies that could bring change in pastoralists’ livelihood in the future. There is a wealth of experience and knowledge in pastoral development accumulated over time that one can tap from. The natural resource base in the arid and semi-arid lowlands which are inhabited by pastoralists if properly managed and subject to the

optimum human and livestock carrying capacity they could provide a viable livelihood to people. Awareness and capacity of pastoral communities to manage their own affair is growing. Pastoralists have begun diversifying their asset and income bases to create more wealth. Pastoralists are building up their own institutions such as the Oromia Pastoral Elder’s Council that complements the effectiveness of the traditional institutions. Pastoral advocacy institutions national as well as international are emerging and becoming vocal to protect the interest of pastoralists. The policy of the current government towards pastoralists is positive in general. It has made some move in crafting policies and setting up institutions to address the needs of pastoralists. Growing global demand for meat in 2020 (Delgado 1999) and increasing demand for organic meat that would benefit the small livestock producers. However, insecurity in the pastoral areas and governance that hamper development efforts and spread of HIV Aids and its impact on the labour force are factors that could play negatively in the direction and magnitude of the development changes.

Vision

Let me try to be courageous enough to be more precise and give my insights in pastoral development in Ethiopia in 2020.

I believe, there will be a solid move by the government to admit pastoralism as one way of life as it is true with crop cultivation and its policy decisions would become more accommodative of the kind of support needed to make the system more productive and viable.

I believe, the traditional pastoral leadership will open up more and engage itself with forces outside its traditional domain to secure an increased political representation to voice out the views of pastoralists and advocate aggressively to protect their interest

I also believe there will be more diversified pastoralist (level of diversification could vary among the different pastoral groups depending on where they are now in the development continuum, and availability of opportunities for diversification in their respective areas) with increasing number of pastoralists diversifying their investment portfolios to include non pastoral investments. More pastoralists, particularly the wealthy will diversify to include urban investments which will have a greater net return in their portfolio. However, livestock will remain the main economic activity in the pastoral areas.

I also believe there will be substantial improvement in public services such as education, health, roads and communication, etc. in pastoral areas. There will be more educated (BSc, MSc, PhD, etc) and entrepreneurial people from the pastoral origins who will lead development in their area of origin and who could advocate for pastoralism as a way of life and these people will be very instrumental to enhance diversification of the pastoral economy to include viable and high return non pastoral investments.

I also believe the towns in the pastoral area would grow and become an important economic engine to facilitate development of the whole pastoral areas. There will be a strong economic linkage

between the rural pastoral areas and the growing small towns.

I believe pastoralist will benefit from the livestock revolution in 2020 and from international market for organic products, thus facilitate and accelerate development in the area.

I also believe cross border movement of pastoralists will be liberalized hence pastoralists will have more access to grazing resources, markets, and opportunities for knowledge and skill transfer from one to the other

I believe the pastoral system will develop and reaches to a stage to successfully absorb shocks and be resilient enough to avoid losses in livelihoods. Its contribution to the national economy will also grow tremendously.

In summary there will be a major change in the livelihood components of pastoralists in Ethiopia in 2020. We will see a pastoral system whereby natural capital are more conserved and protected, physical capital more developed, financial and economic capital grown, human capital and human confidence to solve new problems improved. We will see a diversified pastoral system that will provide pastoralist a better livelihood. But, what matters most is not only the technical input but the maintenance of peace and stability, good governance which are necessary conditions for development and the political will and decisions to help pastoralism and pastoralists to have a better livelihood.



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